1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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culture as the other women, but their everyday existence was much the same.

Men were also taken as captives, although not to the same extent as were women. Tun and Aloari, two Trumaí men, had lived in captivity among the Yuruna. They had feared their captors at first, but once they had learned the language, they said, they were no longer afraid. Apparently both men had been well treated by the Yuruna, for they were kindly disposed towards that tribe. The elder of the two men had a Yuruna wife, whom he left when he returned to his people. How this was accomplished is not known, but escape could not have been very difficult.

Another factor promoting the incorporation of both women and men into other tribes was the depopulation and extinction of their own groups. When the southern Trumaí village was disbanded many of the survivors joined the northern Trumaí, but some moved in with other tribes. Similarly, de Lima reported that the Yaulapití, who disbanded sometime between 1938 and 1945, were to be found among the Kamayurá, Trumaí, and Aueti.[17]

It is possible that more Yaulapití settled with Arawakan speaking groups, but the three above-named tribes were their closest neighbors. The remnants of a disbanded group might also join villages in which they had close kin or personal relationships. A later report by the Srs. Villas Boas, who maintained the recently established airstrip of the Fundação Brasil Central, stated that, as in the case of the Trumaí, the Yaulapití have reconstituted themselves as a group by the establishment of a one-house village.[18] Clearly, except for the peace that has reigned since the airfield was built, a village of some twenty-five people would not be secure from attack. But while the chances of survival are still far from good, the initiation of such a project shows the eagerness of the participants to preserve their social identity.

The main purposes of warfare in the region are to capture women, take loot, and exact revenge. Captive-taking has a clear economic basis in the sporadic warfare between the Suyá and Waurá, as the Suyá capture Waurá women for their knowledge of pottery-making. Among the tribes of the *alurí* area proper, however, this is not done. Arawakan women are married, but Quain's notes indicate that they do not practice pottery-making in their new villages.

It is possible that male and female captives are taken by upper Xingú groups from tribes outside the region to bolster their waning numerical strength, but infanticide and abortion are also present in the area. However, captives do not have to be reared from infancy, and do not constitute the same strain on the economy that children do. It is also

[17] De Lima 1949, p. 28.

[18] This information was obtained verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão. Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 4.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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CHAPTER TWO

TRUMAÍ SUBSISTENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vital Statistics

The population of the Trumaí village in 1938 was 43. This figure includes the 3 foreign women in residence and excludes those few Trumaí who were living with other groups. There were 17 men, 16 women, and 10 pre-pubescent children, of whom 8 were male and only 2 were female. Due to the previously mentioned capture and forced marriage of Trumaí women, the average age of females seems to have been considerably greater than that of males. Two men were considered by the Trumaí as old, while four women were placed in that category. This disparity of age undoubtedly had an influence on the Trumaí birth rate.

Infant mortality seems to have been high, and Quain was of the opinion that it was further aggravated by abortion and infanticide. The fact that there were eight male children and but two girls suggests that infanticide must have been practiced only upon females. Quain's notes, however, give no indication that this was the fact. Pulmonary diseases have devastated all the groups of the upper Xingú, but the drop in the Trumaí population from 43 in 1938 to 25 in 1948 is probably not paralleled in the other villages during that time.

Village and Gardens

The Trumaí settlement was located a scant half-mile from a lagoon that opened directly upon the east shore of the Kuluene just a few miles away. The mouth of the lagoon was narrow, but it broadened out into a lake of moderate size with many small bays and was ringed with swamps. Proximity to the river made insects a continual nuisance during the rainy season. The Kamayurá village, located near the sandy beaches of a lagoon lined with *buriti* palms, was relatively free of insects.

The village consisted of four houses and another under construction. Between the houses and the surrounding forest lay an area of weeds and low underbrush into which refuse was thrown. The ground within the ring of houses was kept comparatively free of weeds and litter. The village "plaza" was about 200 feet wide. In the center were the log bench and fireplace of the men's gathering place. Nearby was a conical wicker cage in which the village harpy eagle was kept for its feathers, which were used in ceremonies.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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was one of the most attractive women in the village. Their marital 593
life, however, was not always smooth. She was unusually possessive, [837]
and he was said to have thrashed her severely once for infidelity. Also, [847]
he felt some resentment for the infanticides she had committed at the
birth of two of their children.

Aloarí, his wife, and his brother Tun were not typical of the Trumaí. In addition to the closeness of Aloarí's marriage there was a strong attachment between the two brothers. None of the three participated fully in the community social life. The small in-group formed by the family probably had much to do with the strength of the marriage.

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The usual cause of quarrels was adultery. Wives generally obeyed their husbands, but since each had his or her own clearly understood [837]
duties to perform, it was seldom necessary for a husband to exert authority. The women, however, did influence their husbands to some extent. Quain was told by a few men that they would not be able to go to the Indian post with him because their wives wanted them to stay at home.

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All but one Trumaí marriage was monogamous. The plural union consisted of Jakwanari and two sisters. A number of men wanted second [583]
wives, and Aloarí told Quain of a plan to go to the Suyá to capture women. Judging from the Trumaí's fear of the Suyá, this was probably sheer bravado. Several attempts were made by some of the men, however, to take one of the two eligible village women as a second wife. These efforts were all balked by the first wife, who ultimately decided whether her husband might have a second wife and, if so, who it would be. Yumunuwa flatly refused to allow Aloarí to take her own sister as a wife. Kuyafi had been Nitvary's second bride for only two days, when his first wife drove her from the house in a fit of temper. Wives were obviously jealous of their monogamous position, but if a second wife was suitable, she might be allowed to stay.

Jakwanari's two wives got along well, but the second, Kamiha, accepted a decidedly subordinate role. Jakwanari's closest relationship was with Tsuku, the first wife, who also owned all the family utensils. On one occasion Kamiha had a quarrel with one of the men. She quickly retired from the fray when he called her a "second Tsuku." Jakwanari's hammock hung across those of his wives, but nothing is known of their sexual relations.

595
Quain was told that in polygamous marriages it was preferable to take two sisters. However, even a sister might not be accepted by the 837
first wife, as Aloarí's situation shows, although a man had sexual rights over his wife's sister as long as she remained unmarried. One man beat his wife's sister for refusing him sexual favors, and his action was approved by the other men. Women, however, were jealous of their husbands, and did not approve of these or any other extra-marital connections.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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only *ami tarajau*. *Ami tarajau* also took the form of mock name-calling contests between men.

The Trumaí found great amusement in minor accidents that befell others and in humorous gossip, without regard to kinship. Jokes played by one person on another, however, usually occurred between cross-cousins.

Avoidance and Respect

Taboos on the names or persons of affinal relatives were observed by the Trumaí, because, as they said, they felt *vaity* (ashamed) toward them. The strongest prohibited a man from speaking the name of his parents-in-law or being in their presence. Thus, a man would not enter a house in which his father-in-law was visiting or join the men's circle if he were there. Parents-in-law were the only affinals whose persons were avoided, and this was most strictly observed between a man and his father-in-law. Due to the short life span, social intercourse was little interrupted by this practice; only one father-in-law and two mothers-in-law lived in the Trumaí village. However, they figured importantly in marital troubles, since parents always took the part of their own offspring in a conflict between mates. Aloari felt bitter about his dead mother-in-law, because she had helped his wife to kill their first two children at birth. The avoidance of a father-in-law's name was so strict that a Trumaí man could not mention his own son's second name, because it was inherited from his wife's father.

Name avoidance was also invoked to some degree with respect to the second ascending generation of affinals. A wife's grandparents could be referred to by name, but only in a whisper, while no such inhibitions were observed when addressing the wife herself by the name.[7]

The Trumaí were ashamed toward the wife's brother and the sister's husband. This was expressed by name avoidance and a respect relation. If there were children, a man could avoid the use of his brother-in-law's name by calling him *deta a'o* (sister's son's father) in the case of a sister's husband, or *apat'awe* (child's mother's brother), if he was the wife's brother. Respect was shown by offering the affinal a chair or by other small courtesies or gift-giving. Since an affinal of the same generation was often a cross-cousin, the joking and respect relationships overlapped rather curiously. While Yati and his cross-cousin and brother-in-law Mayuva played pranks on or feigned anger at one another, they showed great mutual deference at other times. Immediately after Yati told Quain to throw Mayuva out of his house, Mayuva rolled a cigarette for Yati and lit it for him. Manifestly, the two prescribed patterns caused no conflict.

[7] This probably illustrates some overlapping between name avoidance and the taboo on speaking the name of a dead person.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 [842] The Trumaí were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumunuwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, 843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy 833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 846 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumaí village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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four, three between five and seven, two between seven and ten, and the other two between ten and twelve. The little girl could not as yet walk alone. The two youngest boys could, although occasionally they still suckled at their mother's breasts.

The Trumaí infant was subjected to very little training. Rarely was the very young child told not to do anything. However, all the children except for Katsits, the infant girl, knew that they should defecate in the bush and urinate away from the village plaza. Katsits very often eliminated in the house, or while she was in her mother's arms. X'utsi, the mother, merely scraped a bit of dirt over the wet spot. She gave no indication to the child that this was an undesirable act, and the child took no note of her own activity. Exactly how a child learned to exert self-control is not clear, but it was probably by emulating older children and adults, whose toilet habits were hardly a secret.

The child suckled until it was five or six years of age, although it began to partake of the ordinary diet by the end of the first year. Yumunuwa said that she suckled Tsirikoan three times a day: morning, noon, and evening. This was not a strict regimen, for the boy often crawled into her lap or straddled her waist and suckled at odd hours. Until about five years old, the child slept in the mother's hammock, or if motherless, with the father. Often it slept with the mother's breast in its mouth, and if it awoke during the night, it suckled until it fell asleep again.

The nursing of older children is a perpetuation of the infantile pattern, and it is indicative of the lack of stress on weaning. Also, because of infanticide and the low birth rate, there is little cause for sibling rivalry among the Trumaí.

Help was given the child in learning to walk and talk. The men appeared to devote more attention to this phase of upbringing than the women. Katsits was often walked about by her father, and sometimes by Maibu or other men who lived in the same house. Her father was eager to have her walk by herself so that he would not need to coach her, but nevertheless he and the other adults showed the greatest indulgence and patience in this task.

Part of the father's anxiety was doubtless due to the taboos which restricted his activity until his child had learned to walk. The most important of these was a ban on sexual intercourse. When Katsits developed colic, it was generally thought to be the outcome of coitus between the parents. Certain foods were also forbidden the father, one being seasoned fish hash, which was a great favorite. It is not known whether the mother was also required to observe food taboos.

More emphasis was placed on teaching the child to speak. The adults and older children made repeated attempts to put words into the mouths of the very young, saying the same phrases over and over again. In this

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105 182 648 in the Trumaí community, for, as Oberg notes, no adult male would choose to live with a people of such low status.[1]

105 162 It might be expected that the Trumaí could have compensated for this drain by raising their birth rate. However, in this population of 43 persons, there were only ten children, an extremely small number when the low average life span is considered. Furthermore, only two of the children were females. Of the approximately twelve women who 105 were capable of bearing children, only one was pregnant, and the others 163 were urging her to abort her child. Thus, infanticide and abortion were 161 taking a heavy toll in the Trumaí village.

847 845 [171] The custom of killing twins and of spacing births three or four years apart are reported by Oberg for the Kamayurá,[2] and these factors may well have been present in the Trumaí situation. The long post-natal taboo on sexual intercourse had the same effect. Wagley, who studied the dying but equally unacculturated Tapirapé, found that traditional practices were contributing to the complete depopulation of that group also.[3]

105 161 178 154 But among the Trumaí there is still another and less tangible dimension. Abortion may have been urged on a pregnant woman because she had no husband, but how is one to explain the killing of two of Aloari's children without his consent, or the fact that there were eight male and only two female children in the community? The limited information available suggests that the Trumaí were purposely restricting their number and committing suicide, perhaps unintentionally, in the process. Two reasons for this extreme behavior may be hypothesized: first, the impasse in which the Trumaí found themselves because of the steady depopulation made them so personally insecure and apathetic regarding both the present and the future that they were no longer willing to rear sizable families, despite their evident devotion to children; and second, they may not have thought it possible to produce the surplus necessary to support such families. Actually, however, even with their diminished numbers the Trumaí could have increased their food supply.

105 511 433 226 Their lowered standard of living was due to more than attitudes. Loss of population no doubt also decreased the yield of Trumaí fishing and therefore limited their chief source of protein. To be sure, bow and arrow fishing was little affected, but fish poisoning, the only communal subsistence technique practiced by them, was much less effective when employed by a small group, for a few people can adequately poison only smaller watercourses and branches of lagoons, while a greater number can cover larger streams and whole lagoons. In the latter circumstance, both the take would be larger and larger species would be available. Moreover, when the waters are heavily poisoned and enough people are present to reap the "harvest," there is less chance of fish escaping. Thus, up to

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 15. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] Wagley 1940.